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ON FORM AND FEELING:
GERMAN DRAMA AND THE YOUNG WALTER SCOTT

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This article provides a reassessment of Walter Scott's period of reading and translating German drama in 1796-98. This encounter tends to be credited as a pivotal moment in Scott's career, when the young Scott discovered medieval motifs and the literary depiction of the historical individual in German drama, which he then went on to incorporate into his novels. However, studying the six plays Scott translated (by Iffland, Babo, Maier, Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing) within the context in which the Scottish reading public had been introduced to German drama shows that there is much more to Scott's reception of German plays. After outlining Scott's expectations of German drama, this article analyses these six plays to show that, in them, Scott saw the results of formal innovation in casting off the rules of classical drama and portraying situations in which passionate characters could be brought to life. These insights point to the sources of many of Scott's later innovations in narrative form. While aspects of the historical novel can clearly be traced back to Goethe and Maier, Scott's narrative structure owes much to the plotting, dialogue, and primacy of situation found in German drama.

Dieser Artikel unternimmt eine neue Lektüre der intensiven Beschäftigung Walter Scotts mit dem deutschen Drama zwischen 1796 und 1798. Diese Begegnung wurde bereits mehrmals als entscheidende in der literarischen Karriere Scotts betrachtet, wobei der junge Scott von einem Interesse an mittelalterlichen Sitten und der literarischen Darstellung des Individuums in der Geschichte ergriffen wurde, diese dann nachher in seine Werke einbaute und dadurch

zur Grundlage seiner historischen Romane machte. Eine Analyse der sechs von Scott in diesen Jahren übersetzten Stücke (von Iffland, Babo, Maier, Goethe, Schiller und Lessing) zeigt jedoch, dass die Schlussfolgerungen der bisherigen Forschung unzureichend sind. Durch eine Untersuchung der Erwartungen Scotts an die deutsche Dramatik und der Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen diesen sechs Stücken stellt dieser Artikel fest, dass Scott beim Lesen neueren deutschen Theaterstückes die Möglichkeiten der formellen Erneuerung beim Darstellen von Situationen und Leidenschaften erkannte. Er legt auch die Grundlage für eine Neubewertung der Rolle der deutschen Dramatik in der Erzähltechnik in Scotts Romanen. Der Einfluss der deutschen Dramatik auf Scott besteht nicht nur in der Rolle Goethes und Maiers, als Scott die Grundzüge des historischen Romans entwickelte, sondern auch in den Handlungsmustern und der im Vordergrund stehenden Situation in den Stücken der deutschen Dramatiker des spätachtzehnten Jahrhunderts.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the theatre-going and reading publics of Britain were in a frenzy of excitement about German drama. Whether as translations, adaptations, or in their original form, works by German playwrights made their appearance in theatres and bookshops across Britain. At a time when a production of *Emilia Galotti* in Britain could die a death after only four performances, Kotzebue was dominating the nation's stages and periodicals.¹ And long before works by either Goethe or Schiller were on British playbills, the now much less well-known playwright Johann Christian Brandes started the craze for all things German. Thomas Holcroft's adaptation of *Der Gasthof, oder Trau, schau, wem!* (1767) appeared at London's Haymarket Theatre in 1790 as *The German Hotel*, sparking, in Theodore Grieder's words, 'the beginning of a wide-spread interest in the German drama as material for reading or for dramatic representation'.² Amongst the more enthusiastic recipients of German drama in Britain at this time was a young Walter Scott, whose first encounter with German drama in 1796-98 – when he was, in his own words, 'German-mad'³ – tends to be seen as the starting point of the historical novel.⁴ By that measure, German literature is largely responsible for producing one of Britain's most important cultural exports after Shakespeare.⁵

Scott's interest in German drama led to the first book-length publication in his own name, when his translation of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* (1773) appeared with the London publisher James Bell in February 1799.⁶ He had already published translations of ballads by Bürger in 1796 and was to go on to translate further ballads from Goethe. Alongside this, the industrious young Scott translated a further five German plays. His translation of Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* (1783) was 'given away or lost';⁷ and after he refers to a translation of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* (1772) in a letter in 1798,⁸ it is never mentioned again, nor has it left a trace. But the manuscripts of three unpublished translations of the following plays survive: August Wilhelm Iffland's *Die*

Mündel (1784), Jacob Maier's *Fust von Stromberg* (1782) and Karl Franz Guolfinger von Steinsberg's adaptation of Joseph Marius von Babo's *Otto von Wittelsbach* (1782). By all accounts, Scott had an appetite for new works of German drama. We can confidently place him at the very forefront of the British reception of German literature at the end of the eighteenth century.

In a letter to the publishers Cadell and Davies in May 1798, Scott proposes a twelve-volume anthology of German plays to include the six already mentioned; in the same breath he adds that for the publishers to refuse would be no great matter as he undertook these translations 'with a view solely to my own amusement & [*sic*] to improvement in the language'.⁹ Scott may well have been playing down his personal investment in the matter. But it is generally – and rightly – assumed that Scott was driven by an interest in the works he was translating and that this encounter had some lasting effect on his own literary development. To date, research on this topic usually asserts that Scott was drawn to German plays because of his interest in medieval subject matter and motifs;¹⁰ and some of the scholarship suggests that his encounter with the Middle Ages in *Götz von Berlichingen* was a watershed moment in his understanding of the place of the individual in history and the literary uses of historical material.¹¹ In turn, we tend to see this period of Scott's reception of German drama as the source of a number of motifs that find themselves dotted throughout his works, or as the inspiration for his presentation of moments of historical crisis in the novels.

There are some major problems with such approaches to making sense of the drive behind and the lasting influence of Scott's reception of German plays. Discussions of his interest in historical upheaval and its effect on the historical novel tend to focus on *Götz* alone; the same conclusions cannot be drawn about all of the plays he translated. While it is true that the action of *Götz* unfolds during and because of the period of intense political and social upheaval in Germany in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the same cannot be

said of the other plays in question. Schiller's *Fiesco*, for example, depicts a failed attempt to bring about political change. The role of historical detail and totality in Scott's works is always traced back to Goethe alone; but the influence of Maier's play, packed with references to and explanations of medieval objects and customs and accompanied by a 144-page appendix containing further detail, has been entirely overlooked in this matter. Again, to ascribe Goethe's treatment of the historical individual in *Götz* to the other plays in question would be misguided; not least, Goethe's view of historical drama was different from that of both Lessing and Schiller.¹² Medieval themes and motifs abound in *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Fust von Stromberg*, and *Otto von Wittelsbach*; and in April 1796 Scott asks his friend William Erskine to 'pick up a few German books', explicitly requesting a copy of August von Törring's 'Ritterstück' *Agnes Bernauerinn* (1780).¹³ *Die Mündel* and *Emilia Galotti*, however, are both set in the eighteenth century and the action depicted in *Fiesco* occurs in a Renaissance Genoa of 1547 that has more in common with the settings of *Die Mündel* and *Emilia Galotti* than with those of the other plays Scott translated. The sequence in which Scott translated these plays also speaks against locating his interest in medieval material. Not only did Scott begin his translations of German plays with Iffland's bourgeois drama *Die Mündel* in 1796; he also turned to Goethe after having worked on three texts already. Although we have no dates for when he translated *Fiesco* or *Emilia Galotti*, the former came into his possession in October 1796.¹⁴ It is, however, unlikely that he translated it in 1796 or early 1797, otherwise it would have been bound with his manuscript of *Die Mündel*; this is bound with his translation of *Otto von Wittelsbach*, dated '1796-7'.¹⁵

Lukács is almost on his own in the scholarship thus far in that he looks beyond mere motifs and settings when considering the lasting influence of German drama on Scott's novels. Lukács locates a fundamental structural principle in Scott's novels that is manifested in 'die komplizierte Wechselwirkung von konkreten historischen Umständen in ihrem

Umwandlungsprozeß, in ihrer Wechselwirkung mit konkreten Menschen, die, unter diesen Umständen gewachsen, von diesen Umständen sehr verschiedenartig beeinflußt, nach ihren persönlichen Leidenschaften individuell handeln.¹⁶ This, for Lukács, seems to go beyond Goethe's influence, but has its roots in Scott's reading of *Götz von Berlichingen*. Yet it is not Scott's only achievement as a novelist. As David Daiches writes, for example: 'the formal plot [of a Scott novel] is merely a device for bringing the necessary characters and situations into the novel: it is not a plot in the Aristotelian sense at all, but merely a stage, contrived to accommodate the appropriate actors.'¹⁷ Unlike Goethe, Scott is concerned first and foremost with delineating and exploring a historical situation; the character caught within that situation is of secondary importance. Notably, Marion Cusac uses Gustav Freytag's mode of dramatic analysis to investigate the narrative structure of the *Waverley* Novels.¹⁸ Cusac does not draw on Scott's reading of German drama to explain why dramatic analysis fits Scott's novels. But it will perhaps come as no surprise that dramatic analysis – and, at that, dramatic analysis arising from the German tradition – might help us in making sense of Scott's narrative style. Indeed, as I shall argue below, when we direct our sight *away* from Scott's alleged interest in medieval themes and motifs in the 1790s, we can begin to recognise a thread connecting all of the German plays he read and translated. In the following, I shall demonstrate that Scott was drawn to German plays and guided in his reading by an interest in the formal innovations and repudiation of aspects of classical drama manifest in them. His choice of plays illustrates an interest in the primacy of situation over character and in the role of the passions and emotions, both of which will go on to have a lasting effect on his later career as a novelist.¹⁹

In the historical and intellectual climate of Edinburgh in the 1790s, it was not out of the ordinary that Scott would come to rest on questions of dramatic form and the passions when reading German plays. Yet this has been overlooked by scholarship to date. Thus when Henry Mackenzie delivered his seminal 'Account of the German Theatre' to the Royal

Society of Edinburgh on 21 April 1788, Scott – who was present – was reportedly nonplussed by Mackenzie’s focus on the formal aspects of *Götz von Berlichingen*. In Frank Stokoe’s words: ‘[t]rained in the classical tradition, Mackenzie overlooked the charm of this evocation of the past, which appealed so keenly to Scott.’²⁰ Yet Scott name-drops Mackenzie as ‘having thought these translations not unworthy public notice’ when he writes to Cadell and Davies to propose his anthology of German plays in 1798;²¹ this gives every reason to think that Mackenzie’s influence, for one, played no small part in Scott’s reception of German drama at the end of the 1790s.

Like many others in Edinburgh, Scott’s initial encounter with German drama was Mackenzie’s lecture in 1788. The Scottish periodical-reading public had already been introduced to German drama;²² but Mackenzie awakened interest in a novel subject. Mackenzie’s lecture consists of an appraisal of German plays based on two recent French anthologies of translations of works written and/or premiered between 1755 and 1781.²³ He concludes with an extended discussion of *Die Räuber*. Throughout his lecture, Mackenzie places emphasis on the formal novelty of the German plays he has been reading. By and large, he notices ‘a disregard for the regularities and the decorum of the stage, which is considered as marking a very rude state of the dramatic art’; this, however, helps the German playwrights attain ‘a certain reach of genius’.²⁴

Mackenzie identifies a challenge to the rules of neo-classical tragedy and comedy in the German plays and he situates his findings within the context of British sentimental literature: only recently, ‘the taste for sentimental and pathetic writing began to be wonderfully prevalent in Germany. The works of Sterne, and several other English authors of the same class, were read with the greatest avidity’ (‘Account’, p. 158). Breaking with Aristotelian norms, German drama portrays characters thrown into situations:

Most of the pieces of which [the anthologies] consist are plays of situation, rather than of character. In the comedies, it is not the *miser*, the *misanthrope*, the *hypocrite*, that is represented, but a father offended by the *misalliance* of his child, a husband hurt by the ridiculous extravagance of his wife. The tragedies, in like manner, do not exhibit a personification of ambition, revenge or jealousy, but a son outraged by his father, a baron offended by his prince, a prince tyrannised over by his love. ('Account', p. 163; emphasis in original)

Whereas tragedy and comedy traditionally treat character as a stable entity, Mackenzie's insight is that character – including the passions experienced by that character – is only a product of one's environment. A leading innovation of the German playwrights is to depict a response to the situation in which a character's dispositions are pushed to the point of passion. It should come as no surprise that Mackenzie dwells on the treatment of the passions in his lecture. Not only was Mackenzie the author of the sentimental novel *The Man of Feeling* (1771), but the role of pity and the degree to which the passions affected judgement and action had also been a central issue in Scottish Enlightenment thought throughout the eighteenth century.²⁵ By the end of the century, Scottish philosophers and authors were actively addressing the relationship between the theatre and the passions within this vein. Echoing the insights of Lessing and Schiller in Germany, the theatre was coming to be regarded in Scotland as an important place for building a shared moral code through the rousing of sympathy and pity for fellow human beings.²⁶ Mackenzie's lecture on German drama therefore stemmed from this strong and living tradition of Scottish Enlightenment thinking.²⁷ And he was by no means alone regarding his observations on the interplay between formal experimentation and the rousing of the passions in German theatre. One anonymous Scottish author of a piece published in the *Edinburgh Magazine* in 1790 noted

that German plays were ‘violating every rule’, and counted ‘the strong and vivid delineation of mental emotion’ as one of their particular strengths.²⁸

Regardless of the degree to which Scott actually understood and engaged with the philosophical advances of his time and before, he had, in Peter Garside’s words, ‘a strong sense of the intellectual and cultural importance of the Scottish Enlightenment as a whole’, and he was in the right circles to benefit from the ‘atmosphere’ of the Enlightenment in which Edinburgh society was still steeped.²⁹ That Mackenzie’s account left its mark on Scott is clear from the latter’s subsequent comments on the subject. Writing in 1830, Scott asserts that this lecture ‘made much noise, and produced a powerful effect’.³⁰ He writes that Mackenzie introduced the learned people of Edinburgh to

dramatists, who, disclaiming the pedantry of the unities, sought, at the expense of occasional improbabilities and extravagancies, to present life in its scenes of wildest contrast, and in all its boundless variety of character, mingling, without hesitation, livelier with more serious incidents, and exchanging scenes of tragic distress, as they occur in common life, with those of a comic tendency. This emancipation from the rules so servilely adhered to by the French school, and particularly by their dramatic poets [...] was the means of giving free scope to the genius of Goethé [*sic*], Schiller, and others, which, thus relieved from the shackles, was not long in soaring to the highest pitch of poetic sublimity.³¹

Much of the emphasis on formal innovation and feeling in Scott’s ‘Essay on the Drama’ from 1819 also echoes Mackenzie’s comments.³² It is plain Scott did not regret that Mackenzie had little time for discussing medieval customs. Quite the contrary: when reading and translating German drama and then writing critically about it some time later, Scott’s focus was on

matters of dramatic structure and their relationship to the passions, looking for depictions of human nature on stage.

Aside from the plays that Scott translated, there is no way of definitively knowing which German plays he read at this time. We know that he read more than he translated; for example, he read *Nathan der Weise* in June and July 1797.³³ He read *Die Räuber* and owned a copy of it. But *Die Räuber* had appeared in a translation by Scott's friend and (professional) superior Alexander Fraser Tytler in 1792; this perhaps goes some way to explain why Scott did not translate Schiller's first play. He also had easy access to plays by Kotzebue, but it is safe to presume that he found the same 'demoralizing falsehood' in them in the late 1790s for which he criticizes Kotzebue in his 'Essay on the Drama'.³⁴ After Mackenzie's lecture, the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh began purchasing numerous German dramas; but, with very few exceptions, it is difficult to ascertain precisely which German plays now in the collection of the National Library of Scotland were in the collection at specific points in time, let alone whether Scott read them. Moreover, we cannot know for certain when Scott acquired particular books still in his collection; and the contents of the personal collections of William Erskine, James Skene, and Harriet Scott of Harden – from whom Scott borrowed German books – are unknown. According to Scott's letter to Cadell and Davies in 1798, however, he ranks the six plays he translated amongst the 'Chefs d'oeuvres [*sic*] of the German Stage'.³⁵ Whether or not he believed this, he deemed that their various approaches to repudiating the neo-classical rules of drama and their treatment of the passions rendered them worthy of translation for and dissemination to a British public.

That *Die Mündel* was the first German play Scott translated may appear remarkable in itself. As a typical bourgeois 'Rührstück' set in a north-German city in the late eighteenth century, it certainly does not feature marauding knights and chivalrous deeds. Iffland's popularity in Germany may have directed Scott's attention to him: Iffland was once the

second most-performed playwright in Germany after Kotzebue and *Die Mündel* was a success when it was premièred in Mannheim in 1784. From the perspective of recent criticism, however, *Die Mündel* is seen as one of Iffland's less well made plays that depicts overblown sentiment and roughly hewn characters, and relies too much on chance.³⁶ Yet Scott was drawn to its exaggerated sentimentalism and its depiction of flighty characters being at the whim of circumstance. The play depicts a family constellation disrupted by scheming from without. Herr Drave, the *pater familias*, is the guardian of Philipp and Ludwig Brook and of his own daughter Auguste. Ludwig, however, finds himself enmeshed in a plot, led by his friend, the Hofrath Flessel and his father, Chancellor Flessel, to bankrupt Herr Drave. Were it to succeed, it would also deprive Ludwig and Philipp of their inheritance. The Flessels insist that the Brooks's uncle, who could otherwise reclaim possession of their fortune, is dead. Once Drave and family have been driven to their knees, Philipp discloses that he has located his uncle and uncovered the Flessels's plot, and the play closes happily. All of this is interwoven with romantic intrigues, misunderstandings about marriage opportunities, and deception.

No matter how diffuse the plot is, the play still maintains a unified space and time: the action of *Die Mündel* all unfolds within an hour, in two similar locations – 'Zimmer beim Kanzler' and 'Zimmer beim Kaufmann Drave'³⁷ – and with a cast of sixteen, including walk-ons from servants, etc. Notwithstanding the play's adherence to unities of time and place, its depiction of character was in tune with what Scott was to expect from German drama. Typically for the 'bürgerliches Schauspiel' of the time, Auguste fulfils the role of the passionate, emotionally advanced daughter. Hearing of the plot against her father, she cries to her mother: 'Man *will* uns vernichten! – wir *sollen* unglücklich seyn! wozu wäre es außerdem nötig, so schnell zu verfahren [*sic*] – Ich halte es nicht aus! (*M*, p. 109, emphasis in original). Yet Drave, too, acts and speaks out of passion: '[Philipp] Brook, helfen Sie mir meine

Papiere ordnen! – Auguste! – liebes Weib! – wollt Ihr etwas für mich thun, so denkt darauf, wie wir unter wechselseitigen Arbeiten das Leben durchbringen wollen! Seyd stark! in Eurem Muth besteht mein Trost’ (*M*, p. 119).

Importantly, the passions that drive Iffland’s characters also bring them into difficulty in their situations. Their passionate dispositions are both formed and then further acted upon by external conditions. Ludwig Brook is criticised on several occasions for his ‘Leichtsinn’ and his lack of ability to take his situation seriously. His levity will have a negative impact on his possibility for marriage, especially as he refuses to view love as something that has depth and meaning. As he tells Auguste, he used to give his love in all sincerity, but previous lovers altered this for him (*M*, p. 81). It is this levity that, in turn, is used by the Flessels to manipulate Ludwig. Philipp’s own sombre nature has also led to him being cast out from good society, leaving him prey to the Flessels’s schemes. It has also placed him beyond ever being able to marry Auguste, to whom he declares his love. Tellingly, Philipp’s own outpouring of emotion at the end of Act II contains references to his awareness of the difficulties of being emotionally disposed as he is: ‘So wie ich bin, werde ich nun wol bleiben’ (*M*, p. 58). In this scene full of passionate outpourings, Scott’s translation signals his recognition of the emotional force of Iffland’s play and actively connects it to the English vocabulary of ‘sensibility’: Philipp’s ‘ich schwärme nicht’ becomes in Scott’s hand ‘I am no affected Sentimentalist’ (*M*, p. 58).³⁸ Through this, Scott emphasises the realness of Philipp’s emotions, showing that he is a real, passionate human being that is depicted on stage. In an attempt to heighten the passionate exchange of this scene, Scott brings it to a close with Philipp storming off stage, omitting Madame Drave’s final – and possibly conciliatory – call to him (*M*, pp. 51-9).³⁹

Tutored by Mackenzie, the emotional content of Iffland’s play clearly appealed to Scott; and no matter how badly drawn Iffland’s characters may be, to Scott at least the

situation into which Iffland throws them allows for a natural depiction of human suffering. Iffland's theatrical style consists of lively, largely realistic dialogue that defies classical decorum and enables the depiction of characters as feeling human agents. If this lively depiction of human nature appealed to Scott, it might seem odd that he turns next to Steinsberg's adaptation of Babo's *Otto von Wittelsbach*. Steinsberg's alterations to Babo's text largely consist of giving more space to stilted prose with a preference for longer deliveries and monologues. Unlike the modern-day setting of *Die Mündel*, *Otto von Wittelsbach* presents an interpretation of events that took place during the contest between the Welf and Staufien dynasties after the death of Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI in 1197. The action of the play appears to be set in 1204-9: at one end is the marriage of Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria, to Ludmilla of Bohemia; and at the other the protagonist's death. Otto of Brunswick (the future Emperor Otto IV) has set himself up as the German anti-King and refuses to acknowledge Philipp of Swabia as Emperor. The Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto VII of Wittelsbach (before 1180-1209), a loyal subject of the Emperor, is, however, driven to murder his ruler and friend (in 1208). Philipp had promised his older daughter to Otto von Wittelsbach, but when Kunegunde is engaged to King Ottokar of Bohemia for the sake of Imperial security, Otto von Wittelsbach senses injustice and intrigue; he is then deprived of the hand of Philipp's younger daughter Beatrix and pensioned off to the Polish court, accompanied by a letter from Philipp to the Duke of Poland advising him to use Otto in combat but warning him to keep Otto away from positions of power, 'weil er ein allzustolzes – und zum Aufruhr und Zwietracht geneigtes Gemüth hat.'⁴⁰

Otto von Wittelsbach contains the passion that Scott had come to seek in German plays after reading *Die Mündel*. This play likewise gives primacy to situation over character. Otto is presented from the outset as a passionate character who values loyalty and family history above all else. Otto regularly refers to his 'Herz' and the way in which that organ of

emotion has been affected. As the letter from Philipp (cited above) demonstrates, the other characters in the play are only too aware that Otto is led by his feelings. His passion crescendos into outright rage when he discovers that he has been deceived by Philipp:

Philipp! sey das Jubelgeschrey der Hölle, wenn ein Undankbarer verdammt wird.
Gieb mir den Brief! Ach! könnt ich nur diese Worte mit Feuer in das Blaue des
Himmels schreiben, daß alle Völker ihn lesen, und ewiger Fluch des
Menschengeschlechts das Andenken des Undankbaren brandmarken möchte! – Ich
will ihn unter meinem Panzer verwahren, mein Herz soll sein Gift einsaugen und
Rache kochen! – So! (*OW*, p. 79)

The pitch and the passion of Otto's language are matched by his actions; he goes on to have a heated exchange with Philipp, which culminates in his running Philipp through off-stage (*OW*, p. 102-5). Otto initially convinces himself that his act of revenge is not against his *sovereign*, but against the *person* of Philipp: 'Bete für den Kaiser! indeß will ich mit dem Philipp von Schwaben reden' (*OW*, p. 97). Only too late does he realise that he cannot kill one without the other, presenting his bloody sword to his brother Heinrich with the word: 'Kaiser--mörder – –' (*OW*, p. 106). Otto's passion has been pushed along by the situation into which he is thrown as a result of plotting and intrigues at a level of the governance of the Empire. As Emperor, Philipp must decide on marriages and positions of authority based on what will best serve the stability of the Empire. Far from presenting a unified character, *Otto von Wittelsbach* foregrounds historical circumstance and depicts, in Raymond Heitz's words, the resultant 'ruptures de l'unité psychologique des personnages'.⁴¹

Otto von Wittelsbach contains a similar treatment of character to that found in *Die Mündel*. It is also our first record of Scott's interaction with the sorts of infringements of

dramatic rules that he remarks on so positively when he looks back on this period of reading German plays. Before he meets the historical expanse of *Götz von Berlichingen*, he finds in *Otto von Wittelsbach* a play that covers five years' worth of historical activity within five acts. Before discovering the sheer size and scope of Goethe's *dramatis personae*, here Scott comes across a cast of seventeen named parts and a need for further 'Kammerfrauen, Ritter, Kriegsvolk, Leibwächter, Hofgesinde' (*OW*, n.p.). And here he witnesses a total repudiation of the unity of place: the play goes through numerous scene changes, shifting between a number of locations including Bavaria, Bamberg, and the Netherlands. If *Otto von Wittelsbach* lacks the lively and realistic dialogue that appealed to Scott in *Die Mündel*, it makes up for it to some extent in its disregard for formal rules and its attempt to capture the historical factors that affect human action.

The next piece that Scott translated was Maier's *Fust von Stromberg*, which he completed in 1797 under the title *Wolfred of Sromberg (sic)*.⁴² Scott may well have been so impressed by his reading of one 'Ritterstück' that he was drawn to further medieval materials: Maier's second – and last – play is set after its protagonist has returned from fighting in the First Crusade (1095-9) and therefore at some point around 1099-1100. Yet, again, if we look to the formal make-up of this play, we see that it shares many of the aspects *besides* medieval subject matter that drove Scott's interest in *Otto von Wittelsbach*. *Fust von Stromberg* contains a cast of twenty named characters, but its stage directions call for many more. The action occurs at various different places, moving between outdoor settings, hidden basements, and castles, to name only a few, and in a time frame that is unspecified, but must be more than twenty-four hours. Like both *Die Mündel* and *Otto von Wittelsbach*, it revolves around a male protagonist against whom plotting is afoot. Fust von Stromberg has returned to the Palatinate from the First Crusade and is in financial trouble. His sister is, however, embroiled in a plot with the Abbot of Sponheim, who seeks to deprive Fust of his lands,

titles, and properties by forging a document that proves that Fust's mother was a serf of the Abbey; as a result both Fust and his daughter Bertha would belong to the Abbot. The plot itself is diffuse, featuring a number of smaller subplots and episodes that seem inessential to the outcome of the play. Through a long, convoluted string of events, including a prophecy, trial by single-handed combat, and a castle siege, Adelheid and the Abbot's plans are discovered and Fust's properties safely entrusted to his hands.

Maier depicts Fust as a character who acts out of feeling as opposed to trying to reason his way to the best action. This follows a trend of the German 'Trivialdrama' in the late eighteenth century in which compassionate, feeling characters are also the most moral; the heart, coupled with common-sense, takes the upper hand over reason in questions of moral agency.⁴³ The first time we meet Fust, he is *en route* to rescue peasants from a rampaging wolf. When Adelheid – who embodies external piety and religiosity – implores Fust to stay indoors for his own safety, he replies: 'Unausstehlich! bei meiner Christensele [*sic*], unausstehlich! – Wer wird denn singen, und die Wölfe laufen lassen, daß sie den armen Leuten die Kinder fressen.'⁴⁴ Like Iffland's Herr Drave, Fust speaks excitedly throughout, as does his daughter. Both Fust and Bertha are people of sensibility. In Fust's words, Bertha 'hat ihres Vaters Herz im Leibe; ein Herz zum fühlen und leiden – aber keinen Arm zum helfen' (*FS*, p. 37). The challenges faced by Fust's passionate character are indeed the result of plotting and intrigue from those around him. But throughout the play Maier foregrounds historical forces that determine the situation depicted. For one, the socio-economic conditions of the German nobility are dictated by their need to remain on good terms with the church and demonstrate their piety (in this case, through mustering men to fight in the Crusades). As Volrath tells Artimes in the opening scene, the superstitions of the first monks founded of the Abbey of Sponheim in a swamp; this in turn has led to the Abbot's need for money and land, resulting in his attempt to defraud Fust. If Scott's interest was piqued by the depiction of

passionate characters at the behest of their situations and dramatic writing that forsakes the unities to this end, then it is clear why he was drawn to *Fust von Stromberg*. This play goes some way in its repudiation of classical form. It would also have been Scott's first taste of the role of historical necessity in forming the conditions in which dramatic characters are placed; and it would have been his first example of the uses of historical detail in dramatic dialogue.

Although no record survives of when Scott translated *Götz von Berlichingen*, its submission to the publisher in January 1799 and publication the next month – along with the marked improvement in his understanding of German – suggest that it was undertaken after the aforementioned pieces of work. As the preface to his translation illustrates, Scott was drawn to *Götz* primarily for its resemblance to the works of Shakespeare.⁴⁵ After all, Mackenzie had pointed him towards the Shakespeareanism of Goethe's first play in 1788 ('Account', p. 160). The sheer formal novelty of *Götz*, with its almost complete rejection of classical unities,⁴⁶ would therefore have appealed to Scott.

In Scott's eyes, *Götz* would have had much in common with the texts discussed above. From the outset, Götz is depicted as a passionate character fighting for loyalty and justice, bound by a sense of duty. When Weislingen appeals to Götz's 'Ritterpflicht' not to abuse him, for example, Götz answers, 'dass die mir heilig ist' (*MA*, I/1, p. 562). His words throughout are imbued with passion: learning of Weislingen's betrayal of him (including his betrothal to Adelheid, as opposed to Götz's sister Marie) towards the end of Act II, for example, he flies into a passion, crying: 'Es ist genug! Der wäre nun auch verloren! Treu und Glaube du hast mich wieder betrogen. Arme Marie! Wie werd ich dirs beibringen?' (*MA*, I/1, p. 591).

Scott subtitles his translation 'a tragedy', and this tells us something of how he interpreted Goethe's protagonist. Goethe's use of the term 'Schauspiel' signals his rejection of classical dramatic genres, even though *Götz* can be interpreted as a character tragedy of

sorts⁴⁷: the ‘Kraftmensch’ of pre-modern society finds himself overcome by sweeping historical change. For Scott, however, Götz is the individual who passionately holds to freedom and loyalty but is caught in a tricky bind. As Götz states once the game is up in Act III, ‘Es lebe der Kaiser!’ and ‘Es lebe die Freiheit!’ should be one’s final words (*MA*, I/1, pp. 617-18): duty to the Emperor is service to the cause of freedom, as it is to spare the Emperor from the deceit that would otherwise force his hand. Scott was aware of much of the historical detail surrounding the action of *Götz von Berlichingen*. Tellingly, however, in the preface to his translation, he explains that the clash in Goethe’s play is founded ‘[u]pon the jarring interests of the princes and clergy on the one hand, and of the free knights and petty imperial feudatories on the other’.⁴⁸ In Scott’s eyes, therefore, Götz is not ultimately undone by circumstances in which his mode of existence is out-dated. When he dies with the words, ‘Es kommen die Zeiten des Betrugs, es ist ihm [i.e. Georg] Freiheit gegeben. Die Nichtswürdigen werden regieren mit List, und der Edle wird in ihre Netze fallen’ (*MA*, I/1, p. 653), Scott would have seen that Götz’s demise is a result of plotting from the opponents of freedom and duty rather than necessitated by his character.

Nothing survives of Scott’s translations of *Fiesco* and *Emilia Galotti*, not even an indication of when he undertook them. If Scott were drawn to the presentation of passionate characters in testing circumstances, *Fiesco* might appear a strange choice: as Lesley Sharpe writes, ‘Schiller’s emphasis on portraiture of the hero has given rise to a drama where the hero has so little interaction with the world around him that no outcome to the sequence of events seems necessary or inevitable.’⁴⁹ *Fiesco*’s greed and lust determine his actions throughout the play. The hubris behind his assertion, ‘Ein Diadem erkämpfen ist *groß*. Es wegwerfen ist *göttlich*’,⁵⁰ is the same hubris that proclaims him Genoa’s new Duke. (*F*, p. 746).

Then again, Scott will have interpreted Fiesco as being directed by the situation in which he finds himself. This is one way of levelling the contradictions and inconsistencies in his character. Fiesco is first introduced as a womaniser with little interest in anything else and it is therefore surprising when he is asked by a masked Verrina to lead a rebellion against the Doria family and proclaim Genoa a republic. Fiesco's pathological hubris is brought on by his situation and acted upon from without such that it causes his downfall. In a sense, his character is simply not right for the situation into which he is thrown – and Verrina should have known better. It is beyond a doubt that Scott translated from the 'Trauerspiel' version of the text as opposed to the later 'Schauspiel', in which Fiesco survives.⁵¹ In the 'Trauerspiel', Fiesco's passion has been driven to such a point that his situation necessitates his death: he drowns and the Doria dynasty is restored to power. If we look for other elements that interested Scott in German drama, they abound in Schiller's play. Much like *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Otto von Wittelsbach* and *Fust von Stromberg*, it calls for a cast of twenty named characters and then an unknown quantity of walk-ons. *Fiesco* also contains emotive, lively dialogue filled with passion, coupled with stage directions that indicate it (such as at the end of Act I, scene 4: *F*, pp. 650-1). In many ways it resembles the exaggerated, life-like dialogue that Scott found in Iffland and Goethe.

Viewed from the perspective of the young Scott, *Emilia Galotti* has much in common with *Fiesco*. When reading this play Scott had been primed to see not Emilia Galotti but the Prince of Guastalla as the play's protagonist and, at that, as a protagonist overcome by his passions in the present situation. When Mackenzie discusses the German preference for 'plays of situation' over 'plays of character', he clearly refers to *Emilia Galotti* in mentioning 'a prince tyrannised over by his love' ('Account', p. 163). From the outset, Lessing portrays the Prince as fixated by Emilia Galotti. In the very first scene he is viewed at his desk, seeing to his correspondence and says to himself:

Emilia? (*indem er noch eine von den Bittschriften aufschlägt, und nach dem unterschriebenen Namen sieht.*) Eine Emilia? – Aber eine Emilia Bruneschi – nicht Galotti. Nicht Emilia Galotti! Was will sie, diese Emilia Bruneschi? (*er liest*) Viel gefordert; sehr viel. – Doch sie heißt Emilia!⁵²

Ultimately, however, the Prince's obsession with Emilia is heightened to the extent that he commissions Angelo to have Emilia's betrothed killed on their wedding day and to bring Emilia to him. Lessing's emphasis in *Emilia Galotti* lies on the situation in which the new bourgeoisie have found themselves and their vulnerability to abuses of power.⁵³ The fate of the Galottis – Emilia's parents Odoardo and Claudia included – is in the hands of those outside of their control. Emilia finds herself thrust into a situation in which she resembles a plaything at the whim of the Prince's passions whose power over her is guaranteed by economic and social superiority. The Prince is, however, not merely to be written off as a tyrant, but regarded rather as someone who is also at the behest of circumstances. As he himself says, we must also recognise 'daß Fürsten Menschen sind' (*LSS I*, p. 450). His psychology is less important than understanding his predicament and seeing how this has caused him to err.

When reading *Emilia Galotti*, Scott had been drawn to yet another passionate male protagonist who, like Otto von Wittelsbach, Fiesco, and Götz, had been undone by the situation into which his emotions had drawn him. In this instance, the Prince's passions are already present, but are heightened by his inability to attain Emilia coupled with his ability to act upon them. It differs from the other plays Scott translated – perhaps with the exception of *Die Mündel* – by virtue of its relatively small number of dramatis personae and places in which action takes place, and its plot is tightly held together. Yet, importantly, its formal innovation at the time resided in Lessing's rejection of French neo-classicism. This enabled

him to create passionate characters, foregrounding situation over and above the psychological unity of his protagonists.

If questions of formal innovation and feelings were central to driving Scott's interest in German plays in the 1790s, then what of the lasting influence of these same plays in his novels? One and a half decades elapsed between Scott's intensive appreciation of German drama at the end of the eighteenth century and the publication of his first novel *Waverley* in 1814. Nonetheless, if we recognise Scott's interest in German plays in these years as guided by an interest in the ways in which formal rules can be played with in order to depict natural human beings thrown into and tested in situations, then we can go far in locating the seeds of Scott's novels in precisely this encounter in 1796-98.

When we start to look towards structural elements as opposed to mere motifs, it is easy to locate fundamental formal principles of Scott's novels that bear the traces of his reading of German drama. Lukács finds that Scott's novels hinge on a clash between historical necessity and individuals that always results in the assertion of historical necessity. As Lukács goes on to write, this historical necessity asserts itself 'durch das leidenschaftliche Handeln der Individuen, oft aber gegen ihre Psychologie'.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, as Lukács also recognises, this passionate assertion of historical necessity more often than not signals a return to the status quo. In *Waverley* (1814), for example, the young Englishman Edward Waverley falls into becoming a Jacobite-sympathiser yet does not marry the passionate Flora Mac-Ivor, instead settling into his pre-Jacobite rising lifestyle with the pretty but insipid Rose Bradwardine. This can be seen clearly in *Götz von Berlichingen*, in which the passionate Götz is undone by his situation and, despite the legal reforms to come to the Holy Roman Empire, the Empire and the present development of its internal operations remain unchallenged. But we find this too in *Fiesco*, *Emilia Galotti*, and *Otto von Wittlesbach*. In all of these plays, Scott will have recognised that the actions of passionate individuals do not always culminate

in any change to the course of history. Thus there is more to be said for plays other than *Götz von Berlichingen* in Scott's development of the historical novel.

As this preceding example perhaps suggests, foremost amongst Scott's innovations with the novel is his foregrounding of situation over character. This too is something gained from reading the German plays studied above. His novels are less interested in developing character psychologies than they are in throwing average characters into situations in which they are at the whim of their conditions. Jeanie Deans, the protagonist of *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), is forced along her path because her situation requires her to be a truthful, obedient Calvinist while that is tested by demands placed on her by a recent change in legal minutiae. We may be inclined to suspect a prose source for Scott's treatment of character and situation. But one cannot help noticing a striking similarity between his comment in an anonymous review, published in the *Quarterly Review* in 1817, of his own novel series *Tales of My Landlord* and Mackenzie's remarks about German plays as 'plays of situation' (cited above). As he writes, his own 'chief characters are never actors, but always acted upon by the spur of circumstances, and have their fates uniformly determined by the agency of subordinate persons.'⁵⁵ Not only does Scott give primacy to situation over character, but, as he himself notes in the same review, he also puts the action 'as much as possible, into a dramatic shape'.⁵⁶ This reliance on dialogue and dramatic means for constructing narrative is a further innovation of Scott's, of which he is all too aware. When the fictional Dick Tinto accuses the fictional author of *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) of having previously only written boring novels in which 'there is nothing in whole pages but mere chat and dialogue', the fictional author replies by claiming that his novels are intended for the ear and not the eye.⁵⁷ Scott's depiction of reality is one that has learned from the excited and lively dialogue of the likes of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and Iffland.

Structurally, Scott's novels are often loose, containing a number of strands that do not always come together effectively; action darts from place to place and occasionally makes leaps across time. He actively shirks the conventions of the structure of the novel as laid down by the likes of Fielding. As his fictional author responds to Captain Clutterbuck in the 'Introductory Epistle' to *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), he has no interest in writing a novel that takes a measured approach to developing a plot in which 'every step brings us closer to the point of catastrophe'.⁵⁸ By and large, the plays he had been reading are sufficiently filled with subplots or scenes that do not play a part in the outcome of the action but give colour to the larger situation. This desire to break with a simple, linear plot was one felt and acted upon by the German dramatists of the generation of Goethe, Schiller, and Lenz. And just as chance and sudden changes of circumstance determine the results of many of Scott's novels, we find them in the German plays too. In a move that breaks with the rules of dramatic probability – but albeit in a much less iconoclastic fashion than Lenz uses the same in *Der Hofmeister* (1774) –, chance brings about a happy ending in *Die Mündel* and *Fust von Stromberg* and incites Otto von Wittelsbach to murder the Emperor.

The *Waverley* Novels, it would seem, were written very much 'after the German',⁵⁹ as Scott quips in the 'Introduction' to *Waverley*, but not by virtue of using medieval and gothic motifs. Scott harnesses the dramatic means he had witnessed in the works of German dramatists in the 1790s and puts them to new a new use. Given Scott's approach to forsaking unities of composition and focusing on situation as opposed to character, it stands to reason that he was led in this direction by the German dramatists whom he had seen doing these things when he began to study them intensely in 1796-98. Such aspects as these are crucial in understanding his innovation as a novelist and therefore his international success and cultural appeal in his own time and beyond. These innovations tend not to be traced back to German literature, and further research is needed to analyse the effects of Scott's continued interest in

German plays. But it is perhaps safe to say that Scott's innovation as a novelist would not have taken place had he not studied the innovations of the German dramatists of the late eighteenth century.

1 See Bayard Quincy Morgan and A.R. Hohfeld (eds), *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860*, Madison, WI 1949, pp. 42-9 and p. 98. See also Carlotta Farese, 'The Strange Case of Herr von K: Further Reflections on the Reception of Kotzebue's Theatre in Britain', in *The Romantic Stage: A Many-Sided Mirror*, ed. Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Fabio Liberto, Amsterdam and New York 2014, pp. 71-84; Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama 1750-1800*, Cambridge 1927, pp. 61-73; Walter Sellier, *Kotzebue in England. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der englischen Bühne und der Beziehungen der deutschen Litteratur zur englischen*, Leipzig 1901; and the relevant sections of Violet Stockley, *German Literature as Known in England, 1750-1830*, London 1929, which is still an invaluable study on this topic. The production of *Emilia Galotti* mentioned is its 1794 English-language première at Drury Lane.

2 Theodore Grieder, 'The German Drama in England, 1790-1800', *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research*, 3 (1964), 39-50 (39).

3 Walter Scott to Mrs Hughes, 13 December 1827, in *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Herbert Grierson, 12 vols, London 1932-7, X, pp. 330-4 (p. 331).

4 For Georg Lukács, for example, *Götz von Berlichingen* 'leitet nicht nur eine Blütezeit des historischen Dramas ein, sondern hat auch auf die Entstehung des historischen Dramas bei Walter Scott einen unmittelbaren und starken Einfluß' and is 'eher ein Vorläufer der Romane Wlateral Scotts als ein Ereignis in der Entwicklung des historischen Dramas': *Der historische Roman*, Neuwied and Berlin 1965, p. 26 and p. 189. Frauke Reitemeier, however, gives the credit for Scott's development of the historical novel to his reading of works by the novelist

Benedikte Naubert. See Reitemeier's *Deutsch-englische Literaturbeziehungen: Der historische Roman Sir Walter Scotts und seine deutschen Vorläufer*, Paderborn 2001.

5 At the time of writing in 1973, Alexander Welsh feels sufficiently confident to state, 'that the Waverley Novels are, with Shakespeare's plays, one of the two largest exports of English literature.' Alexander Welsh, 'Contrast of Styles in the Waverley Novels', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 6 (1973), 218-28 (228).

6 The title page erroneously gives the translator's name as 'William Scott'.

7 Scott to Hughes (note 3), p. 331.

8 Walter Scott to Messrs Cadell and Davies, 5 May 1798, printed in: Ruth M. Adams, 'A Letter by Sir Walter Scott', *Modern Philology*, 54 (1956), 121-3 (121).

9 Ibid.

10 See, for example, Adams, 'A letter by Sir Walter Scott' (note 8), p. 122; Oliver Farrar Emerson, 'The Early Literary Life of Sir Walter Scott', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 23 (1924), 28-62; H.R. Kleineberger, *The Novel in England and Germany. A Comparative Study*, London 1981, pp. 47-9; William Mackintosh, *Scott and Goethe: German Influence on the Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, Galashiels [1925]; Duncan M. Mennie, 'Sir Walter Scott's Unpublished Translations of German Plays', *MLR* 33 (1938), 234-9 (238-9); G.H. Needler, *Goethe and Scott*, Toronto 1950, pp. 22-3; Paul M. Ochojski, 'Sir Walter Scott's Continuous Interest in Germany', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 3 (1966), 164-73 (166); Paul M. Ochojski, *Walter Scott and Germany: A Study in Literary Cross-Currents*, PhD diss., Columbia University, 1960; and E.H. Harvey Wood, 'Scott's Foreign Contacts', in *Scott Bicentenary Essays. Selected Papers read at the Sir Walter Scott Bicentenary Conference*, ed. Alan Bell, Edinburgh and London 1973, pp. 238-59 (p. 245).

11 In addition to Lukács, see, for example, Christopher Johnson, 'Scott and the German Historical Drama', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 233

(1996), 20-36; John Koch, 'Sir Walter Scotts Beziehungen zu Deutschland. II', *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, 15 (1927), 117-41 (141); and Volker Neuhaus, 'Goethe-Rezeption bei Sir Walter Scott. Goethe und der historische Roman im 19. Jahrhundert', in *Spuren, Signaturen Spiegelungen. Zur Goethe-Rezeption in Europa*, ed. Bernhard Beutler and Anke Bosse, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2000, pp. 275-83.

12 On this topic, see, for example, Friedrich Sengle, *Das historische Drama in Deutschland. Geschichte eines literarischen Mythos*, Stuttgart 1969, pp. 37-56. This difference between *Götz* and *Fiesco* is, however, acknowledged by Christopher Johnson: see Johnson, 'Scott and the German Historical Drama' (note 11).

13 Walter Scott to William Erskine, 24 April 1796, in *Letters* (note 3), I, pp. 44-8 (p. 47).

14 See Walter Scott to Mr Miller, 2 October 1796, in *Letters* (note 3), I, p. 57-9 (p. 57).

15 The completion dates for translations of *Die Mündel* and *Otto von Wittelsbach* are given in Scott's hand on the title page of each in Scott's manuscript, in which the two are bound together. See: *The Wards, from the German of Will. Augustus Iffland and Otho of Wittelsbach, a Tragedy*, trans. Walter Scott, MS Abbotsford Library – N.3.10, p. 1 and p. 61.

16 Lúkacs, *Der historische Roman* (note 4), p. 70.

17 David Daiches, 'Scott's Achievement as a Novelist (Part Two)', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 6 (1951), 153-73 (156).

18 See Marion Cusac, *Narrative Structure in the Novels of Sir Walter Scott* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969).

19 It is not my intention to study the quality and detail of the extant translations themselves, as this does not reveal much about his active choice of plays. For some accounts of the quality of Scott's translations, see, for example, Arthur Melville Clarke, *Sir Walter Scott: The Formative Years*, Edinburgh and London 1969, p. 260; Mennie, 'Sir Walter Scott's Unpublished Translations' (note 10); Peter Mortensen, *British Romanticism and Continental*

Influences. Writing in an Age of Europhobia, Basingstoke 2004, pp. 142-50; and Needler, *Goethe and Scott* (note 10), pp. 26-7.

20 F.W. Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period 1788-1818, with Special Reference to Scott, Coleridge, Shelley and Byron*, Cambridge 1926, p. 28.

21 Scott to Cadell and Davies, (note 8), p. 121.

22 See 'Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Dramatic Poetry in Germany', *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, 4 (August 1786), 92-4.

23 These anthologies are: *Théâtre Allemand, ou recueil des meilleures pieces dramatiques, Tant anciennes que modern, qui ont paru en langue Allemande; précédé d'une Dissertation sur l'Origine, les Progrès & l'état actuel de la Poésie Théâtrale en Allemagne*, ed. and trans. Georges Adam Junker and [?] Liebault, 4 vols, Paris 1785, first published in 1772; and *Nouveau Théâtre Allemand, ou Recueil des pieces qui ont paru avec succès sur les Théâtres des Capitales de l'Allemagne*, ed. and trans. Adrien Chrétien Friedel and Nicolas de Bonneville, 12 vols, Paris 1782-5.

24 Henry Mackenzie, 'Account of the German Theatre', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 2 (1790), 154-92 (159) (hereafter 'Account').

25 See John Dwyer, *The Age of the Passions. An Interpretation of Adam Smith and Scottish Enlightenment Culture*, East Linton 1998; and Gordon Graham, 'Morality and Feeling in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Philosophy*, 76 (2001), 271-82.

26 See, for example, Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, in *The Works of Dugald Stewart*, 7 vols, Cambridge 1829, III, p. 161; and Joanna Baillie, 'Introductory Discourse', in *Plays on the Passions*, ed. Peter Duthie, Peterborough, ON 2001, pp. 67-113 (p. 81). Important to note in this context is that Stewart was a close friend and one-time lecturer of Scott's, whom Scott name-drops to his publishers as a mentor on his project of translating German plays. Scott also had high praise for Baillie's project of

attempting to arouse sympathy in her audience for the characters of her *Plays on the Passions* (first series 1798): see Walter Scott, 'Essay on the Drama', in *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 28 vols, Edinburgh 1834-6, VI, pp. 217-395 (p. 387); and Walter Scott to George Ellis, 8 December 1801, in *Letters* (note 3), I, pp. 123-4 (p. 124).

27 In Scott's own words, Mackenzie formed 'the last link in the chain which connects the Scottish literature of the present age with the period when there were giants in the land – the days of Robertson, and Hume, and Smith, and Home, and Clerk, and Fergusson'. Walter Scott, *Lives of the Novelists*, London, New York and Toronto 1906, p. 167.

28 'On the German Tragedy', *The Edinburgh Magazine, or, Literary Miscellany*, 12 (September 1790), 193-8 (195).

29 Peter D. Garside, 'Scott and the "Philosophical" Historians', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36 (1975), 497-512 (498 and 510).

30 Walter Scott, 'Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad', in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 4 vols, Edinburgh 1849, IV, pp. 3-78 (p. 40).

31 Scott, 'Essay on Imitations' (note 30), p. 39. It is interesting to note the language with which Mackenzie and Scott address Goethe's rejection of the unities, casting it as an act of self-liberation from a form of confinement and imprisonment. Although neither was aware of Goethe's 1771 speech 'Zum Shäkespears Tag', their language has much in common with the young Goethe when he states, for example: 'Es schien mir die Einheit des Orts so kerkermäßig ängstlich, die Einheiten der Handlung und der Zeit lästige Fesseln unsrer Einbildungskraft. Ich sprang in die freie Luft, und fühlte erst daß ich Hände und Füße hatte.' Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Zum Shäkespears Tag', in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe*, ed. Karl Richter et al., 21 vols, Munich 1985-98, I/2, pp. 411-4 (p. 412) (hereafter *MA*).

32 See Scott, 'Essay on the Drama' (note 26), pp. 297-312 and pp. 381-6.

33 John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 10 vols, Edinburgh 1902, I, p. 302.

34 Scott, 'Essay on the Drama' (note 26), p. 385. A number of works by Kotzebue were, for example, available in the collection of the Advocates' Library as well as being in general circulation in Edinburgh at the time; and Scott's own copies of Iffland's *Die Mündel* and *Bewußtseyn!* are bound together with Kotzebue's *Bruder Moriz oder Der Sonderling*. For some analysis of the status of Kotzebue in Scotland at the time, see, for example, David W. Lindsay, 'Kotzebue in Scotland, 1792-1813', *PEGS*, 33 (1963), 56-74; and Michael Wood, 'Notes on a Scandal: Robison, Scott, and Kotzebue in Scotland', *Notes and Queries*, 65 (2018 – forthcoming).

35 Scott to Cadell and Davies (note 8), p. 121.

36 See, for example, Karl-Heinz Klingenberg, *Iffland und Kotzebue als Dramatiker*, Weimar 1962, p. 71; and Lesley Sharpe, *A National Repertoire. Schiller, Iffland and the German Stage*, Bern 2007, p. 114.

37 August Wilhelm Iffland, *Die Mündel. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen*, Berlin 1785, p. 1 and p. 16 and *passim* (hereafter *M*).

38 Scott (trans.), *The Wards* (note 15), p. 3.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

40 Karl Franz Guolfinger von Steinsberg, *Otto von Wittelsbach. Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen*, Berlin 1789, p. 79 (hereafter *OW*).

41 Raymond Heitz, *Le drame de chevalerie dans les pays de langue allemande: fin du XVIIIe et début du XIXe siècle; theatre, nation et cité*, Bern 1995, p. 174.

42 Walter Scott (trans.), *Wolfred of Sromberg [sic]. A Drama of Chivalry from the German of Maier*, MS Abbotsford Library – N.3.11.

43 See Markus Krause, *Das Trivialdrama der Goethezeit 1780-1805. Produktion und Rezeption*, Bonn 1982, pp. 55-9.

44 Jacob Maier, *Fust von Stromberg. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Mit den Sitten[,] Gebräuchen und Rechten seines Jahrhunderts*, Mannheim 1782, p. 1 (hereafter *FS*).

45 See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Goetz of Berlichingen, with the Iron Hand: A tragedy*, trans. Walter Scott, London 1799, p. xii. Owing to the enormity of the subject, there is no space in the present essay to discuss the relationship between Shakespeare and German drama in Scott's reception in any detail. But for an in-depth treatment of the topic, readers might be directed towards Michael Wood, "'An old friend in a foreign land": Walter Scott, *Götz von Berlichingen*, and Drama Between Cultures', *Oxford German Studies*, 47 (2018), 1-12. See also Wilman Brewer, *Shakespeare's Influence on Sir Walter Scott*, Boston, MA 1925, pp. 20-4; and Clarke, *Sir Walter Scott* (note 19), pp. 259-60.

46 See, for example, Frank M. Fowler, 'Regularity Without Rules: The Formal Structure of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*', *GLL*, 41 (1987), 1-8; and Arlene Akiko Teraoka, 'Submerged Symmetry and Surface Chaos: The Structure of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*', *Goethe Yearbook*, 2 (1984), 13-41.

47 See, for example, F.J. Lamport, *German Classical Drama. Theatre, humanity and nation 1750-1870*, Cambridge 1990, p. 40; F.J. Lamport, 'The Charismatic Hero: Goethe, Schiller, and the Tragedy of Character', *PEGS*, 58 (1989), 62-83; and Roy Pascal, *The German Sturm und Drang*, Manchester 1953, p. 139.

48 Scott (trans.), *Götz of Berlichingen* (note 45), p. x.

49 Lesley Sharpe, *Schiller and the Historical Character. Presentation and Interpretation in the Historiographical Dramas*, Oxford 1982, p. 13.

50 Friedrich Schiller, *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko zu Genua*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed.

Herbert G. Göpfert, rev. Peter-Anrdé Alt, Albert Meier, and Wolfgang Reidel, 5 vols, Munich 2004, I, pp. 639-745 (p. 695) (hereafter *F*). Emphasis in original.

51 On the differences between the two versions, see, for example, Ursula Wertheim, *Schillers "Fiesko" und "Don Carlos". Zu Problemen des historischen Stoffes*, Berlin and Weimar 1967, pp. 68-113.

52 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Emilia Galotti*, in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Karl Lachmann, 3rd edn ed. Franz Muncker, 23 vols, Stuttgart 1886-1924, I, pp. 377-450 (p. 379) (hereafter *LSS*).

53 See, for example, Karl S. Guthke, *Das deutsche bürgerliche Trauerspiel*, Stuttgart 1972, pp. 60-7; and Peter Szondi, *Die Theorie des bürgerlichen Trauerspiels im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a.M. 1973, p. 185.

54 Lukács, *Der historische Roman* (note 4), p. 71.

55 Walter Scott, 'Tales of My Landlord, 1817', in *Sir Walter Scott on Novelists and Fiction*, ed. Ioan Williams, New York 1968, pp. 237-59 (p. 240).

56 *Ibid.*, p. 239.

57 Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. J.H. Alexander, Edinburgh 1995, pp. 10-11.

58 Walter Scott, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, ed. Frank Johnson, Edinburgh 2004, p. 7.

59 Walter Scott, *Waverley*, ed. P.D. Garside, Edinburgh 2014, p. 3.